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ABSTRACT

An examination of some surface differences between quantifier phrases (QP) in standard Italian, Genoese dialect, and French is reported. The analysis makes specific reference to the distribution of empty noun phrase and adjectival phrase categories in SpecN, and uses the concept of inflectional rules. Although details have not yet been worked out, the discussion strongly favors the position that the category QP is really only a label of convenience because the syntactic behavior examined here could be given an adequate analysis with an approach that views QP as an autonomous lexical category. (MSE)

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REFLECTIONS ON NOMINAL QUANTIFICATION IN THREE ROMANCE VARIETIES: FRENCH, ITALIAN AND GENOESE

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REFLECTIONS ON NOMINAL QUANTIFICATION IN THREE ROMANCE VARIETIES: FRENCH, ITALIAN AND GENOESE

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Introductory Remarks

The question of whether the category QP is to be considered part of the repertory of lexical projections on a par with NP, AP, PP and VP (as appears to be the case in Longobardi and Giorgi's seminal study (to appear) of NP structure and Obenauer 1983, 1984) or whether the label QP is really as Bresnan suggests 'merely a temporary convenience' (1973: 277)[1] seems still to be open.

The aim of this short paper cast within the theoretical framework of Government-Binding theory (see Chomsky 1981, 1986a and 1986b) is to re-examine and develop some proposals put forward in Battye (1987) concerning the internal structure of quantified NPs in French such as those shown in (1) below:

(1) i. J'ai lu [$_{NP}$ beaucoup d' articles] récemment
I've read many (of) articles recently

ii. Pierre s'est brouillé avec [$_{NP}$ trop de collègues]
Pierre has argued with too-many (of) colleagues

iii. Marie sait parler [$_{NP}$ plusieurs langues]
Marie knows to-speak several languages

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[1] My thinking on the syntactic status of the lexical items generally classed as QPs has been much influenced by Ewan Klein's unpublished manuscript 'Determiners and the Category Q'. I do not wish to imply however that Klein would endorse my interpretation of his ideas.

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iv. Nous avons discuté avec [$_{NP}$ chaque candidat]
we have discussed with each candidate

In that paper it was proposed that the nominal quantifiers in (1) (e.g. *beaucoup* 'much', *trop* 'too much') were actually NPs themselves generated under the SpecN position whereas the quantifiers shown in (iii) and (iv) are to be classed as APs generated, however, in the same structural position.

Further arguments for this position based on data taken from French, Italian and Genoese[2] will be reviewed in Section 1, where, in particular, the question of the syntactic status of the empty category in SpecN of NPs in direct object position will be examined. Section 2 will then consider how these proposals can be extended to deal with NPs having a quantificatory interpretation contained in A-bar positions such as these shown in the following examples:

(2) i. (Di) libri ne ho tanti (Italian)
of books of-them (I)'ve many

ii. De livres j'en ai tant (French)
of books I-of-them have many

iii. De libri ge n' o tanti (Genoese)
of books 'there' of-them (I)'ve many

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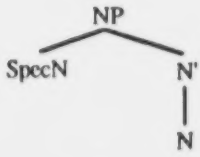
2 Genoese is a cover term for the popular dialects spoken in the region of Liguria, whose provincial capital is Genoa. The claims I make here with respect to Genoese are based on informant work carried out in the Summers of 1987 and 1988 with speakers of the varieties of Genoese spoken in Rapallo, Chiavari and Sestri Levante. There exists no orthographical standard for this dialect and therefore the examples given here will use IPA symbols and show conventionally recognized word boundaries.

1.0 Theoretical Assumptions

For our purposes here a simple NP structure like the following will be assumed throughout:



The position referred to by convention as SpecN will be that in which determiners and quantifiers are generated in the Romance languages. N' is considered to be the position under which AP is generated; it will be assumed that this is a potentially recursive node. Finally N is where the head noun is generated. We shall assume that this basic outline will give internal structures for quantified NPs like these below in the three Romance varieties under study here:

(3) i. [$_{NP}$ Plusieurs [$_{N'}$ [$_{N'}$ [$_{AP}$ beaux] [$_{N}$ étudiants]][$_{AP}$ français]]]
many nice students French

ii. [$_{NP}$ Tanti [$_{N'}$ [$_{N'}$ [$_{AP}$ begli] [$_{N}$ studenti]][$_{AP}$ italiani]]]
many nice students Italian

iii. [$_{NP}$ Tanti [$_{N'}$ [$_{N'}$ [$_{AP}$ belli] [$_{N}$ stydenti]][$_{AP}$ italjøn]]]
many nice students Italian

1.1 Two types of Nominal Quantifiers in French

It will be noted that the NP structures shown in (1) and (2) above differ in a crucial way; the NPs shown in (1) contain the preposition de while in those in (2) this preposition is absent. In fact *de* 'of' is obligatorily present in NP structures like those in (1); if it is absent ungrammaticality results:

(4) i. *Beaucoup articles
many articles

ii. *Trop collègues
too-many colleagues

On the other hand if *de* is present in quantified NPs of the type shown in (2) ungrammaticality again results:

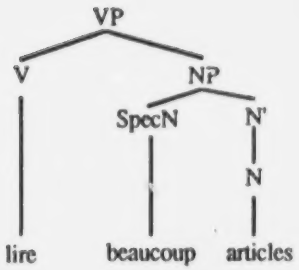
(5) i. *Plusieurs de langues
several of languages

ii. *Chaque de candidat
each of candidate

That the quantified NPs shown in (1) are simple NP structures to be assimilated perhaps to what Selkirk (1977) refers to as pseudo-partitives has been argued in the literature on French (see Milner 1978, Kayne 1981). As has already been noted in order to account for this difference, it has been proposed in Battye (1987) that French quantifiers like *beaucoup* 'much' and *trop* 'too much' should be classed as NPs, whereas quantifiers like *plusieurs* 'several' and *chaque* 'each' are to be considered APs. This difference in categorization has a crucial effect on the distribution of Case (on Case theory see Chomsky 1981) within these quantified NPs.

Chomsky (1986b: 42-4) proposes that the governor of a maximal projection governs not only that maximal projection but also its Spec. Detailed arguments for this proposal and refinements have been given in Longobardi (ms). It must be remembered that abstract Case is assigned under government and that every lexical NP requires an abstract Case if it is not to fall foul of the Case filter, which states that **NP if NP has no Case*. If these two conditions are to be met, then structures like those in (4) are clearly going to be ruled ungrammatical. Let us now consider why this should be the case. If we examine the configuration in (6)

(6)



then it should be clear that the single abstract Case assigned to the direct object position by the verb *lire* 'to read' has two potential recipients: either the whole NP headed by the noun *articles* 'articles' or the quantifier NP *beaucoup* 'many' in the SpecN position. Both are NPs with lexical content and as there is only one abstract Case to be assigned, there is no grammatical output for the configuration as shown in (6) (see (4)i)).

In Battye (1987) it was proposed that structures such as these in (4) and (6) are 'saved' by the operation of an Inflectional Rule (see Borer (1984) for the motivation and theoretical justification of such rules) of the following form:

De Insertion:

$$\emptyset \text{ ----> de } /[_{NP}\ NP_{+quantifier}\ __\ N']$$

De in structures such as those shown in (1) might then be considered to be a Case marker which saves the whole structure from ungrammaticality by providing a second abstract Case which is assigned to the head of the NP; this means that the Case feature provided by the governor of this NP is available for the marking of the quantifier NP in the SpecN position.

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With respect to the NP structures shown in (2), where the SpecN contains what we are terming a quantifier AP,[3] there is no need for the insertion of de because the AP does not require a Case marking and so the Case marking provided by the governor of NP will be sufficient to guarantee grammaticality, hence the absence of *de* in the data shown in (2) and the ungrammaticality of the strings in (5).

1.2 The Identification of *vbl* in SpecN

The proposal outlined in the preceding section gains in plausibility if we consider its application to the structures shown in (7) below, usually referred to as examples of *quantification à distance*:

(7) i. J'ai beaucoup lu de livres
I've many read of books

ii. Nous avons peu visité d' amis
we have few visited of friends

iii. Combien crois-tu qu' il a vendu de voitures?
how-many believe-you that he has sold of cars

In order to account for the existence of structures of this kind in French, one might propose that the underlying structure of the object NPs here

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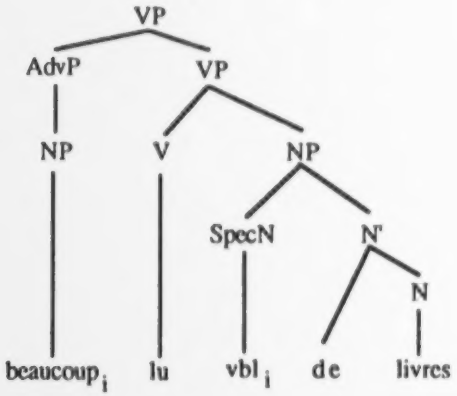
[3] Longobardi (ms: 56-8) presents an interesting alternative to our proposal here. Like us he agrees that *de* in French is inserted as a special Case marker to supplete the Case which has percolated to what is maintained to be QP in Spec N position. He does not, then, follow our line of argument in rejecting the existence of QP; rather two classes of QP are established in French.The first class, corresponding to our AP quantifiers, have overt morphological agreement with the head (incidentally such agreement has a phonological reflex in liaison contexts) and therefore does not absorb Case. The second class of QPs in French (our NP quantifiers) exhibit no overt agreement and for this reason need to absorb the Case assigned by the external governor to the whole NP. I feel that further research may in fact reconcile our two (apparently) opposed positions.

contain an empty NP variable (*vbl*) in the SpecN position. Fully fleshed out, this proposal would entail that the underlying structure of the VP in (7i) for instance would appear as follows (the proposal that there exists an empty position in these kinds of NP goes back to Kayne, 1975: 30):

(8)



The conditions necessary for the identification of the *vbl* in SpecN position here can be resumed as follows. Firstly there is an antecedent with which it can be co-indexed (i.e. the NP *beaucoup* 'much' which can also function as an adverbial constituent in French). To be fully identified a *vbl* requires Case (see for instance Chomsky 1981: 175) and if the proposal that SpecN is governed by the external governor of the NP in object position is accepted then once again the abstract Case assigned by the verb here is available for the *vbl*. The fact that the Case assigned by the verb is absorbed by the empty *vbl* in SpecN position means that the Inflectional rule *De Insertion* has to operate here to guarantee grammaticality. One further condition on the identification of a *vbl* is that it be in an A-position (see Chomsky 1981: 185); however here we will follow Obenauer (1983) in somewhat relaxing this condition so that a *vbl* can be identified if it is in an A-position and also if it is part of the

Spec of an A-position.[4] Structures similar to *quantification à distance* configurations with AP quantifiers cannot be found in French because there is no Case available for the identification of a *vbl* in SpecN and also because adjectives cannot be used as adverbials and therefore there would be no antecedent for the identification of the empty category in SpecN.

The analysis that has been sketched out above can also provide insights into the syntax of sentence negation in French and in particular into the distribution of de in such contexts. Consider the following data:

(9) i. Marie n'a pas acheté [$_{NP}$ de pain]
Marie neg-has not bought of bread

ii. Pierre ne veux pas faire [$_{NP}$ d'efforts]
Pierre neg-wants not to-make of-efforts

It could be proposed quite plausibly that the bracketed NPs here in direct object position are to be assigned structural analyses like that shown in (8). Such a position would entail accepting that the lexical item *pas* which appears in negative structures is actually a quantifier of NP status. Such a proposal is indeed quite plausible from a historical point of view since the negative item *pas* derives from the noun *pas*, which in non-negative contexts means 'footstep' (see Harris 1978: 23-9 and references cited there). This point of view leads one to view the *de* in (9) as being the Case marker inserted by *De Insertion* which has already been introduced in this section. In the same way as was seen in the data under (4) the absence of the Case assigner *de* in sentences like (9) produces ungrammaticality:

(10) i. *Marie n'a pas acheté pain
Marie neg-has not bought bread

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[4] Such a condition is quite plausible in the 'Barriers' framework, where Spec-Head agreement plays an important role (see Chomsky 1986b: 24-27 and passim).

ii. *Pierre ne veux pas faire efforts
Pierre neg wants not to-make efforts

1.3 NP quantifiers in SpecN in Genoese?

The answer to the question posed here as the heading of the subsection seems to be a cautious affirmative. Genoese seems to behave like French with respect to the behaviour of certain of its quantifiers, although the repertoire of what are being termed NP quantifiers in Genoese is much more restricted than in French. Firstly let us examine some non-problematical cases in which it seems fairly plausible that one might assume the presence of an NP quantifier in SpecN position. Two NP quantifiers of Genoese are *gwei*[5] 'hardly' and *miga maw* 'quite a bit/lot', both of which behave syntactically in the same way as the class of French NP quantifiers argued for in the last subsection.

(11) i. *o kɔnɔʃy [$_{NP}$ miga maw de dʒente] a sestri
I've known many of people at Sestri

ii. *n'o kɔnɔʃy [$_{NP}$ gwei de dʒente] a sestri
not (I)'ve known hardly of people at Sestri

These examples show, as seen in the French data in (1i-ii), the presence of the Case assigning preposition *de* of Genoese. Were it to be absent then ungrammaticality would be the result:

(12) i. o kɔnɔʃy miga maw dʒente a sestri
I've known many people at Sestri

ii. n' o kɔnɔʃy gwei dʒente a sestri
not (I)'ve known hardly people at Sestri

---

[5] Etymologically the form *gwei* 'hardly' of Genoese is to be related to the NP quantifier *guère* of standard French. It also has an archaic and, today, unproductive equivalent in standard Italian: *guari*.

If we also add that both *gwei* and *miga maw* can be employed as independent adverbials, then it will be predicted that these two NP quantifiers should participate in the Genoese equivalent of the *quantification à distance* configuration. Such a prediction is in fact correct:

(13) i. o miga maw kɔnɔʃy de dʒente a sestri
I've many known of people at Sestri

ii. n'o gwei kɔnɔʃy de dʒente a sestri
neg (I)'ve hardly known of people at Sestri

A more tantalizing case of an NP quantifier is to be found in the behaviour of the nominal quantifier *trɔppu* 'too much' of Genoese. Its interest lies in the fact that two closely related lexical items can be found in the SpecN position of NP: one being *trɔppu* classified as an AP quantifier and therefore having overt morphological agreement, the other being *trɔppu*, an NP quantifier lacking overt morphological agreement and requiring the insertion of *de* before the N' it specifies.[6] Consider the data here:

(14) i. g'o avyw trɔppi prɔblemi
'there'-(I)'ve had too-many problems

ii. g'o avyw trɔppu de prɔblemi
'there'-(I)'ve had too-many of problems

According to the proposed analysis, the absence of *de* in (14) (ii) and its presence in (14i) should produce ungrammaticality in both cases. This prediction proves to be correct as the following data show:

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[6] This double status for *trɔppu* 'too much' is interesting from an historical point of view as it can be interpreted as an example of a lexical item which can be analyzed as either an AP quantifier or an NP quantifier. In fact in Old French some of the lexical items which are today analyzed only as NP quantifiers display this double classification (i.e. *tant*, *trop*).

(15) i. *g'o avyw trɔppi de prɔblemi
'there'-(I)'ve had too-many of problems

ii. *g'o avyw trɔppu prɔblemi
'there'-(I)'ve had too-many problems

trɔppu can be used as an adverbial in Genoese as here

(16) o trɔppu viaʒʒjo
(I)'ve too-much travelled

In the light of this possibility it is not surprising that with *trɔppu* analysed as an NP quantifier, *quantification à distance* configurations can be found:

(17) g'o trɔppu avyw de prøblemi
'there' (I)'ve too-many had of problems

On the other hand if *trɔppu* agrees morphologically with its head noun (i.e. meaning that it is employed as an AP quantifier) then the analysis proposed here predicts (correctly!) that no structure equivalent to (17) is possible:

(18) *g'o trɔppi avyw prøblemi
'there'(I)'ve too-many had problems

The syntax of negation in Genoese presents a problem for the approach to NP quantification adopted here. Consider the following negative sentences:

(19) i. maria a n'a akkattow [$_{NP}$ de pan]
Maria she neg-has bought of bread

ii. piero u nu vø fa: [$_{NP}$ de fadige]
Piero he neg wants to-do of efforts

The analysis proposed for the French data in (9) clearly could account, at least in part, for the structures seen in (19). The obligatory presence of *de* would be the consequence of the 'absorption' of the Case assigned by the verb to the NP in direct object position by a *vbl* in the SpecN of that NP. The major difference here is the absence of a negative adverbial item which might also be analysed as an NP quantifier (i.e. there is nothing corresponding to the French *pas* in (19)). We have, as yet, no specific solution to this problem to offer, but it is not considered to be insuperable and therefore to necessitate a radically different analysis for these structures. An interesting line of inquiry which might yield a solution may be found by investigating the possibility that the negative clitic *ne* (n.b. *n'* in front of a vowel) of Genoese might act as an antecedent for the identification of the *vbl* in SpecN. This possibility might arguably exist in literary styles of French with respect to a very limited class of verbs as shown in (20)

(20) i. Je ne peux manger [$_{NP}$ *vbl* de pain]
I neg can to-eat of bread

ii. Je ne saurais dire [$_{NP}$ *vbl* de mensonges pareils] après
I neg know to-say of lies such after

un tel accident
a such accident

1.4 NP quantifiers in SpecN in Italian?

Standard Italian does not, at first glance, seem to behave in the same way as Genoese or French. In A-positions (on A-bar positions see the next section), the quantifier items which can appear under SpecN all behave like APs. Firstly because they display overt morphological agreement with the head noun:

(21) i. Ho comprato [$_{NP}$ molti$_{(masc., pl.)}$ libri$_{(masc., pl.)}$]
I've bought many books

ii. [$_{NP}$ Poca$_{(fem., sing.)}$ frutta$_{(fem., sing.)}$] è stata venduta
little fruit has been bought

Secondly there appears to be nothing similar to Case 'absorption' by items in SpecN, a phenomenon seen in the earlier sections with respect to French and Genoese. Because of this, in A-positions at least, we never find data like that in (22), where the Case marking preposition of Italian (i.e. *di*) has been inserted into the NP:

(22) i. *Ho comprato molti di libri
I've bought many of books

ii. *Poca di frutta è stata venduta
little of fruit has been bought

Particularly noteworthy at this juncture is the absence of the Case marking preposition from negative structures in Italian, thus there is no grammatical string in that language which corresponds to the French data in (9) or the Genoese data in (19):

(23) i. *Maria non ha comprato di pane
Maria not has bought of bread

ii. *Piero non vuole fare di sforzi
Piero not wishes to-make of efforts

Grammatical equivalents to the data in (23) can be found by omitting the preposition *di* as here:

(24) i. Maria non ha comprato pane
Maria not has bought bread

ii. Piero non vuole fare sforzi
Piero not wants to-make efforts

Since the NP in direct object position here has a quantified reading it must be assumed that the SpecN in these cases contains an empty AP

quantifier which is absent from the repertory of empty categories in French and Genoese and which does not 'absorb' Case and does not form a context for the insertion of *di*. It can be assumed for our purposes here that this empty AP quantifier in negative structures is identified by coindexation with the negative clitic *non* in Italian.

Finally it should also be noted that since Case 'absorption' and *Di Insertion* are not to be found in A-positions in standard Italian, then it is correctly predicted that there will be no equivalent in that language to the *quantification à distance* configuration:

(25) i. *Ho troppo bevuto di caffè
I've too-much drunk of coffee

ii. *Maria ha poco visto di vestiti che le piacciono
Maria has little seen of clothes that to-her please

The data in (25) are ungrammatical despite the fact that *troppo* 'too much' and *poco* 'little' can be found as independent adverbial constituents in Italian:

(26) Ho troppo/poco viaggiato quest'anno.
I've too-much/little travelled this year

To sum up what we have seen in this subsection: it would seem that, at least with respect to the data examined here, standard Italian does not allow NP quantifiers to figure under SpecN and that its repertoire of empty categories contains an empty AP quantifier which is lacking in both French and Genoese. As a consequence of these tentative hypotheses it might be concluded that Italian actually forbids the generation of NP under SpecN and that an equivalent rule to *De Insertion* in French and Genoese is lacking in that language. In actual fact, as will be seen in the next section, where the behaviour of quantified NPs in A-bar positions is examined, both of these claims are too strong.

2.0 A-bar Positions and Empty NP Quantifiers under SpecN

In this section it will be shown that the Left Dislocation data given in (2) (repeated here for convenience)

(2) i. (Di) libri ne ho tanti (Italian)
of books of-them (I)'ve many

ii. De livres j'en ai tant (French)
of books I-of-them have many

iii. De libri ge n' o tanti (Genoese)
of books 'there' of-them (I)'ve many

can be analysed in an elegant way in the context of the proposals that have been made in Section 1 of this paper. It will also be maintained that these structures are important in bringing us to a fuller understanding of the distribution of empty NP quantifiers in the Romance varieties under study here.

2.1 The Clitic Pronouns *EN/NE*

Belletti and Rizzi (1981) have argued that the clitic pronoun ne of Italian, when it pronominalizes part of a quantified NP, should be analyzed as being an N-bar proform. Therefore with a quantified NP structure like *molti libri inglesi* 'many books English', *ne-cliticization* will produce an underlying structural configuration like the following:

(27) i. Hai comprato $[_{NP}$ molti libri inglesi] ?
you've bought many books English

ii. Sì, nei ho comprati $[_{NP}$ molti $[_{N'}$ $t_i]]$
yes of-them I've bought many

where the clitic *ne* is co-indexed with the empty N'-bar position in the object NP. One important consequence of this analysis is that the clitic *ne* does not 'absorb' the Case assigned by the verb to the object position here. This has to be so because the fragment NP which remains after *ne-cliticization* still contains lexical material and therefore this NP will still require abstract Case so as not to fall foul of the Case Filter. Without arguing the point at length it will be assumed that the analysis of the pronoun *ne* given here is also applicable to the pronouns *ne* of Genoese and *en* of French when they are extracted from a quantified NP.

2.2 *De/Di* Insertion in Left Dislocated Structures

Having now mapped out the necessary background on *ne-cliticization*, consider the following left-dislocated configuration in Italian:

(28) $[_{NP}\ [_{SpecN}\ e]\ [_{N'}$ Libri inglesi] ne ho comprati
$[_{NP}\ [_{SpecN}$ molti] t]
English books of-them I've bought many

In order to understand how this configuration comes to be grammatical, it is crucial that any analysis account for how the left-dislocated NP comes to be Case marked. Cinque (1977) has shown convincingly that a Case relation has to exist between the dislocated position and the position within the sentence in which the dislocated constituent is to be interpreted. For instance an overtly objective Case-marked pronoun cannot be interpreted as coreferential with a subject position and vice versa hence the distribution of asterisks in the following Italian data:

(29) i. Io_i/*me_i tutti dicono che e_i sono stato stupido
I/me all say that I've been silly

ii. Me_i/*io_i nessuno vuole più vedermi dopo la mia disgrazia
me/I nobody wants more to-see-me after my misfortune

On a descriptive level we may talk in terms of the Case assigned to the sentence internal position being copied onto the dislocated constituent with which it is associated.

Thus in structures such as that shown in (28), it is proposed that the abstract Case assigned to direct object position by the verb *avere* 'to have' will be copied on to the NP in left-dislocated position. In order to understand why, in the context of such an analysis, the structure in (28) is grammatical, it will be proposed that the empty SpecN position is occupied by the empty AP quantifier which it was proposed exists in Italian (see 1.4). It has been claimed that such an empty AP quantifier is absent from the lexical repertoire of Genoese and French, therefore it is correctly predicted that structures equivalent to (28) are absent from these two Romance varieties:

(30) i. *Livres anglais j'en ai tant
books English I-of-them have many

ii. *Libri inglesi ge n'o tanti
books English 'there' of-them-I've many

In fact the equivalent structures to (28) in Genoese and French have to have the following form:

(31) i. De livres anglais j'en ai tant
of books English I of-them have many

ii. De libri inglesi ge n'o tanti
of books English 'there' of-them-I've many

where the operation of the inflectional rule (see 1.0) of *De Insertion* is evident. How can this obligatory presence of Case-marking *de* be accounted for? Since French and Genoese lack an empty AP quantifier then the empty SpecN position in the dislocated NPs in (31) can plau-

sibly be claimed to contain an empty NP *vbl*.[7,8] The presence of this NP *vbl* will, as seen in Section 1, have an effect on the distribution of Case, namely the Case marking copied from the direct object position of the verb in (31) will be 'absorbed' by *vbl* in order for it to be identified as a quantifier expression. A consequence of such a claim is however that the NP headed by *livres/libri* 'books' requires the presence of

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[7] Actually the proposal that a *vbl* may appear in an A-bar position may appear to violate one of the conditions on the identification of a vbl namely that it be in an A-position (see Subsection 1.2). This condition must however be considered to be satisfied if the *vbl* in question can also be associated in some way with an A-position. Association with an A-position will clearly be necessary for the correct identification of certain postverbal vbls in Italian if, as Rizzi (1982: 145-154) proposes, WH-Extraction in that language is from postverbal position. With respect to the dislocated structures dealt with here there would be no problem in associating the NP in A-bar position with an A position.

[8] Obenauer (1984: 180) presents the following contrast as important evidence for the postulation of a syntactic category QP:

(i) ??Combien de filles$_i$ sais-u où inviter t_i?
how many of girls know you where to-invite

(ii) *Combien$_i$ sais-tu où inviter t_i de filles?
how many know you where to-invite of girls

According to this analysis the example in (i) is a fairly acceptable extraction from a WH-island because there exists in French an empty NP pronominal (i.e. pro) which the WH-NP *combien de filles* 'how many girls' can A-bar bind. On the other hand there is no similar empty QP category in French (but for a contrary opinion see Longobardi, ms: 58) and therefore the WH-QP *combien* does not A-bar bind the trace in the WH-island and hence the ungrammaticality of this example. The analysis we have proposed here in the text would seem to predict grammaticality for (ii), since we have proposed that pro (i.e. an empty pronominal NP) can appear in Spec N. However Longobardi (ms: 23) has argued that external government of an empty category in Spec N always produces a degree of marginality in configurations involving WH-movement. Adapting this idea to the data in (i) and (ii), it could most plausibly be maintained that the sharply degraded grammaticality of (ii) with respect to (i) results from the combined effect of the WH-island violation and the marginality of external government of an empty category in Spec N.

the Case-marking preposition *de/di*. Since the context for the insertion of this Case-marker is met in these examples such a presence is possible and hence the structures seen in (31).

Considering what has been said, up to present standard Italian, rather unexpectedly, presents grammatical equivalents to structures such as those in (31).

(32) [$_{NP}$ Di libri inglesi] ne ho tanti
of books English of-them-I've many

To all intents and purposes dislocated structures such as these are semantically equivalent to similar structures like that seen in (28). The proposal that this NP might contain an NP *vbl* in SpecN which creates the context for *Di Insertion* would appear to be highly plausible in the light of such data.

Such a proposal requires no modification of what has been said earlier with respect to standard Italian and, in fact, it allows us to clarify the points left unanswered at the end of Subsection 1.4. First of all data like (32) show that Italian does not forbid the generation of NP quantifiers under SpecN, but other conditions in the grammar 'conspire' to restrict this possibility. Secondly it does not seem to be the case that Italian lacks an empty *vbl* which can be identified as an NP quantifier; indeed considering the central importance of empty NP categories in Government-Binding theory, such a gap in the array of possible empty categories would be surprising. Finally the possibility of structures such as (32) shows that Italian does not lack a rule *of Di Insertion*. Therefore the limited distribution of NPs of the form shown in (32) must be due to some other condition.

The rule of *Di Insertion*, it has been proposed, is an inflectional rule in the sense in which this term is used in Borer (1984), where it is suggested that an interesting leading idea would be to investigate whether 'all parametric variation can be reduced to the properties of the inflectional system' (ibid: 4). It seems that the parametric variation identified here between Genoese and French on one hand and standard

Italian on the other might be reduced to a condition on the application of the inflectional rule of *Di Insertion* in Italian. Whereas in Genoese and French this rule can operate freely in all NP positions, it seems to be more restricted in Italian. Tentatively we may propose that this inflectional rule can only apply to NPs in A-bar positions in Italian, although much more comparative research is necessary to establish whether this is the right approach.

3.0 Conclusion

In this paper, an attempt has been made to account for some surface differences between quantified NPs in standard Italian, Genoese and French. The analysis proposed has made specific reference to the distribution of empty NP and AP categories in SpecN. It has also made use of Borer's concept of Inflectional Rules. Although the details of this proposal may not yet be fully worked out, it is felt that the discussion here strongly favours the position of Bresnan (alluded to in the opening paragraph) that the category QP is really only a label of convenience. Indeed it would be difficult to see how the syntactic behaviour examined here could be given an adequate analysis in the context of an approach which viewed QP as an autonomous lexical category.

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